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Another circling dance, called skó'tepŭs, may not be a social dance but may be used in the scalp and war dances in a way that is not clear. Here those in the circle do not hold hands and their step consists in shuffling along by moving the toes and heels alternately.

The headdress for dancers consists of long eagle feathers, or a bunch of small eagle and gull feathers may be kept in place on top of the basket hat by means of cord passing under the chin. Downy feathers are hung pendant at the back of the head.

New Year's observances, or new fire ceremony, such as the Yurok and Karok know, are not found among the Klamath.[144]

ETIQUETTE

The Klamath are on the whole a hospitable and friendly lot. Good breeding demands that visitors be invited to share one's meal. There is no studied effort at ostentatious feasting, however, nor is food forced on a visitor in the manner of our eastern Indians. If visitors, men or women, arrive at meal time, the children of the household are sent out on the pretext, as they tell the children, that the food will stick in the visitors' gullets. A kind of grace is said before eating. Bits of food are cast toward the spirit places to feed them first. I am not sure that the accompanying formula[145] is a prayer. Good form does not demand that the visitors clean up their portions, nor does one hear the smacking of lips in appreciation. There is among them no objection to noisy eating. Children are told not to talk while eating fish, for fear of their swallowing bones. It is usual to rinse the mouth with water before and after eating. Soiled fingers are washed in a near-by stream after the meal. Children are definitely instructed in good behavior.

The common salutation to the visitor is i gŏtpi'ɪɛ, yes, have you come?, followed by go'li, come in. On leaving, the guest announces i gă'mbɪn, yes, I am going, which evokes the invariable response i gă'mbli, yes, go. One hears mol'nskăndĭtc, thank you, but rarely.

For a man to remove a woman's hat from her head is reprehensible; it is usually construed as a solicitation.

Certain behavior is not so much a matter of general good form as of sex difference. Egress from the earth-lodge is by a ladder projecting through the hatchway overhead. Men mount the rungs facing the ladder, but women place their feet sideways, mounting crab-wise.

[144] Kroeber, Handbook, 53, 102.

[145] See p. 168.

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787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his 756 spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close [372] as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure con- 755 sists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

* 171 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by 756 comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

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From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath, but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain" objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion; the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

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the people at large as well as the shamans. Inasmuch as both these features are northwestern and non-Californian, they must be looked on as influences from the north.

The following sections attempt to substantiate these generalizations.

Spirits

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Those spirits of which the Klamath seek power are conceived as animals, birds, reptiles, fish, sometimes as natural phenomena, and in a few instances as supernaturals, anthropomorphic and akin to the characters of their mythology. Their number is indefinitely large. Each may be said to constitute a genus of spirits; e.g., "the Coyote spirit" is properly a group of coyote spirits. Members of the class are not singled out for individualization.

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The spirits of other tribes of the northwestern sector are of the same type. All the interior tribes on into California and all others of Oregon for whom we have information hold to this conception: Thompson, Lillooet, Wishram, Nez Percé, Takelma, Klamath, Modoc, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Wintun. There are undoubtedly differences among them in the type of spirit most frequently sought; thus, natural phenomena bulk larger in the Thompson mind. Further, objects, some as trivial as the nipple of a gun, figure as spirits among the Thompson, Lillooet, Snohomish, Nisqually, Nez Percé, Achomawi, and Atsugewi.[438]

A concept of a different sort holds sway on the coast from Vancouver island to the Columbia river. There the principal spirits are supernaturals of mythological character. These are necessarily restricted in numbers since they are highly individualized, and correlatively the powers they bestow are particularized. Where information is available, these creatures are credited, as among the Klallam, with a social existence of human pattern: they live in houses, are provided with servants, and travel in canoes. This is the predominating spirit concept among the Kwakiutl, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. The slight information on Chinook spirits suggests supernaturals of the same sort. This is not to deny that animals and birds figure among the Klallam and Puget Sound Salish, and that among the Quinault there are a few bird spirits that retain their

[438] Teit, The Thompson Indians, 354; The Lillooet, 283; Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Spinden, Nez Percé, 247 f.; Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 35; Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 130 (skins and feathers of spirits); Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356.

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The Winter Performance

Shamanistic performances among the Klamath could take place only in midwinter (December–January). Every shaman made a point of exhibiting his power at this time, several of them sometimes joining for a performance. Midwinter was the most propitious moment to recall the spirits. In fact, it was at this time that laymen of the audience, who had some spirit power, would feel impelled by their own spirits to sing their songs.

This is the essential element of the Kwakiutl secret society performances in midwinter. The society members are those who are repossessed by their spirits and the novices those who are newly possessed at this time. This is probably general among all adjacent groups having secret societies. Boas remarks that "among all the northwest coast tribes these ritualistic performances are confined to the winter months, and the season is set off from the rest of the year as the sacred season.[476]

Southward of here there are secret societies but they are not specifically connected with spirit repossession; such as those of the Quileute, whose performances take place in the winter months. The possession is general among all individuals. Again, among the Klallam the guardian spirits come to their owners once a year, generally in December or January. The person becomes "ill," calls on his friends to help him sing, and "when the guardian spirit is satisfied, it leaves the owner, who then becomes well again." Identically the same is recorded for the southern Puget Sound groups (Snohomish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually, etc.) as occurring from the middle of November to the beginning of January.[477] Both among the Klallam and on the Sound these dances take place at the winter potlatch, but they also occur at other potlatches through the year, merely as dance performances and without repossession. This renders Olson's observations on the Quinault intelligible: their potlatches are usually given about Christmas or New Year, and at these people sing their spirit songs. This suggests that here too repossession takes place at this time. On the other hand, his notes state specifically that spirit power is not stronger at this time. The spirit dances of the Wishram are very

[476] Tribes of the North Pacific Coast, 244.

[477] Frachtenberg, Ceremonial Societies of Quileute, 322; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 290, 306; Haeberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 56, 59, 73.

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similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March. Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479] This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call the spirits and prompt them to act.

[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

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The time of life at which supernatural power may be gained is not limited among most western tribes. Those of eastern Washington and the interior of British Columbia, however, tend to restrict the quest to adolescence, and with them seem to link the secret society initiations of the Northwest Coast. One gains the impression that in northwestern California, where the acquisition is involuntary, it descends only on adults. The Klamath, like others of northeastern California, follow the more widespread habit of seeking power at any time. 171* 787

Feminine shamanism is characteristic of northwestern California. While this appears in the relatively large number of women practitioners as far east as Shasta and Achomawi, the Klamath are unaffected by this influence. 171* 756 [562]

Specialization among shamans is not marked over most of western America. Such distinctions as are made between those who cure and mere clairvoyants, or the really powerful shaman and one with limited abilities, are very variable and never particularly impressive. Such distinctions do not appear among the Klamath at all. Neither do the common Californian specialists, the rattlesnake, bear, and weather shamans. Weather control is exercised by any Klamath shaman who has the requisite spirits.

Northern California and Oregon share an initial dance for the novice: a performance of initiation and mastery in the south, a demonstration of ability in Oregon. The Klamath affiliate with the latter. Its local form on the Klamath river below the Klamath (Yurok, Shasta, and Modoc), a dance made immediately on the acquisition of power with a second somewhat later, has no counterpart among the Klamath. The general form of the Klamath novice dance is identical with all their shamanistic seances. In one particular they affiliate with the down-river tribes, namely in dancing over a hot fire, but even this is known on the southern fringe of the Northwest Coast proper, if not elsewhere. 171* 756 535

Northwest Coast influences appear at two points: the time of shamanistic seances and the woodcarvings representing spirits. Klamath seances are restricted to midwinter, the novice dance among them. This is regularly the period at which all who have spirits are repossessed and impelled to dance, shamans among them. The regimentation of the repossessed in the midwinter sacred period of the Northwest Coast is lacking, but a diminution of the idea and its forms is clearly traceable from that focus to Shasta and Klamath. Wooden 171* 756 796 ooo

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	KF	NM	NS	MV
2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	3	5	6	-	-	4	5	5	4	5	3	3
2089. Used by shaman in curing	•	-	-	-	•	•	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-	•												
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2101. For Ghost dance	-	-	R	-		R		R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2107. Worn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	-	25	8	20	1	2	4	-	-
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2111. Basket rattle	-	•	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	-	-
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	R	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2124. Musical bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	-	•	+	•	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
2133. Bone	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	-	+
2134. Bird or rodent	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	-	+	-	-	+
2135. Large mammal	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	R	-	-	-	+	+	-
2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
5210. Shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·		-	-	575
5211. Hooked	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	·		-	-	
5212. In seclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	·+	
†5213. For ... months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	·3		-	·4	
5214. Meat, salt taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·+		-	+	
5215. Lie down, do not move	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
5216. In dance house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5217. Instructed, taught	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
Impersonated Spirits																	
5218. Moki (wüta)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	575
5219. Wholly covered feather net												+	-		-	+	
5220. Big-head (yohyo, t'uya)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	R	··	-	+	776
5221. Woman (küla, dü, dadu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	+	
5222. Sili (racer, in net)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·		-	+	
5223. Yat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5224. Sobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5225. Yabe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5226. Koto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5227. Grizzly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5228. Coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5229. Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	·+	
5230. Kuksu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5231. Ghosts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	(+)	
Officials																	
5232. Moki: head of whole ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+		-	+	575
5233. Kuksu: leader of dancers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-		-	·+	
5234. Limo (wulu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·		-	+	
5235. Temegu, doorkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·+		-	+	
5236. Fire tender, clown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	·+		-	+	
5237. Yomi (yomta) is curing doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
Ceremonies																	
5238. Hesi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	R	+	-	+	575
5239. Aki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	+	776
5240. Waima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·(+)	-		-	+	
5241. Grizzly bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·+	-		-	+	
5242. Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·		-	+	
Dances																	
5243. Coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	·	-	+	575
5244. Goose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·		-	+	535
5245. Condor (Moloko)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-		-	-	
5246. Wololok (yellowhammer)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	(+)		-	-	
5247. Eagle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-	
5248. Thunder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·		-	+	
5249. Lole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5250. With feather ropes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	+	
5251. Hilewe (hiwe?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·		-	-	
5252. K'aima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	
5253. Toto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	R		-	R	
5254. Salalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+		-	+	
5255. Duck dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	+	
5256. Kenu, keni (sweat dance)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	
5257. Knee swinging from rafters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	·+	

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

[Klamath Reservation]

Families eat together from individual basketry dishes, taking their food only after the father has prayed and made offering to the sacred places.

When the meal is over, the family disperses to its chores. Mothers look to babies; and here and there an old woman squats upon the rooftop, grateful for the warmth upon her aged limbs, grooming a grandchild and dressing its hair with a porcupine-tail comb. The younger women have moved to the mat lodges where they have stored the basketry supplies laid in last fall; they work with deft fingers, sewing or weaving tule mats or twining baskets. If the firewood is low, those who are free, both men and women, will sally forth to knock down low-hanging limbs. Several of the men have gone out of the marsh to seek the tracts that are still unfrozen, taking to their canoes to hunt waterfowl with bow and bunt or to wield the two-pronged fishing harpoon. Others remain to mend their gear. From time to time, several men will retire to one of the small, semisubterranean sweat-houses to cleanse themselves with steam and prayer, a ritual followed by a quick plunge in the river. When the men are done, a party of women takes its turn. At intervals, children burst into the house for a bite of food, but the family will not eat together again until evening.

When night begins to descend, the mat is once more drawn across the hatchway and a large fire is kindled in the hearth. In its light, a few individuals, young and old alike, play the ring and pin game, attempting to skewer the loop on a tule ball with a porcupine quill. To do so is called "splitting the moon"[13] and is said to hasten the advent of spring. String figures must not be played in this season, for they make the months grow longer. As the fire falls into glowing coals and the dogs outside turn about and bed down in the snow, one of the elders takes up a tale of the myth times. Shadows leap and advance and the children sit spellbound upon their mats as the voice summons up the crafty Mink and his mischievous younger brother, Weasel, the vain and odorous Skunk, the mournful odyssey of Swai's child, orphaned by his own hand, the Chipmunk sisters and their marriage in the sky world, dire Owl, and Gmukamps, that amoral and protean being, and his shining son, Aisis.

At the height of midwinter, while supplies are still ample,

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
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shamans, individually or in a group, give public performances to invited audiences. It is at this time, too, that novices first demonstrate their powers. The guests bring their own food, depositing it outside the shaman's house, and take their place by families along the wall. A ceremonial pole has been erected outside, bearing painted designs and hung with symbols of the shaman's tutelary spirits. Inside, the house posts are also painted, and stuffed birds and animals, representing the shaman's powers, hang from the beams: they transform a residence into a holy place. The shaman wears sacred regalia, including a fillet of woodpecker scalps, and spectators must be clad in traditional clothing. Children are excluded from all but the sleight-of-hand demonstrations at night, since at other times they might be imperiled. Modoc children are not allowed to attend any part of the seances.

Each shaman has an interpreter—who habitually assists him in curing as well—and who summons the spirits from their distant places, lights the shaman's pipe, repeats his words, and provides other aid. For the performance a caller is also chosen and, together with one or more singers, he leads the audience in dancing and in singing the sacred songs of the shaman.

For five days and nights—only nights for the Modoc—the performance continues. During this time the shaman, when he is not dancing, sits or lies on his bed and observes a fast. The first ceremony is a fire dance by the shaman and helpers while the caller invokes the spirits; it is followed by the singing of the spirit songs. Among the Modoc, successive nights are spent in singing the spirit songs, and for those shamans who are richly endowed with spirit associates, there is no repetition. In the longer Klamath ceremonies—which extend through the day as well—evenings are given over to shamanistic performances, restricted by the Modoc to the final evening. Each shaman must demonstrate his ability to swallow fire and arrowheads; and some swallow splints, sticks, or prodigious quantities of water. The powers of many enable them to produce fish, pond-lily seeds, or blood in a basket of water; and some animate the stuffed skins suspended from the ceiling as well. During the entire five-day period the congregation follows ritual prescription. On no other occasion are this

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10 •
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many tribesman brought at once into a relationship so explicit and compelling in its demands.

Such public gatherings must be held early in the winter and serve only to punctuate its length. As the season advances and the earth lodges become increasingly fetid and flea-ridden, housewives anxiously eye the dwindling supplies, and social bonds are threatened. During this time, says Ray, Modoc take pains to conceal from outsiders the location of the food cache or the presence of food in the house. Hospitality is necessarily curtailed and theft becomes common. Nonetheless, those shamans who have access to one of the spirits controlling weather still conduct public ceremonies, and they are assisted by the villagers.

If spring is long delayed, the people may be reduced to eating hides, boiled or roasted. Even at this time, however, they will not eat their dogs. When the ground is sufficiently clear of snow, they venture forth to ferret out roots overlooked last year, to gather the tough lichen, and to pry off the tender cambium layer of young ponderosa and lodgepole pines. With the appearance of the first holes in the ice, the men swiftly set about fishing.

As snow retreats and ice melts, and warmer winds waft the delicate odors of growing things, a feverish activity seizes the villages. Some settlements, favorably located, will continue to be occupied through the year. In others the earth lodges are dismantled. The decrepit and those too ill to move reconcile themselves to remaining in the mat lodges with a boy or girl to look after them. The others, raising the dugout canoes from the muddy shallows, where they have been submerged to prevent splitting, pile the household gear and children aboard and, with firm strokes of the pole or paddle, depart for the spring fishing stations. Already, in March, the runs of suckers are surging up the Williamson and Sprague.

At the spot on the latter river where Gmukamps first instituted the tradition, the Klamath observe the first sucker ceremony, which ensures a propitious run. On the lower reaches of Lost River near present-day Olene, there is a famous fishing station, where Modoc and many Klamath congregate for several weeks, catching and drying an estimated fifty tons of fish. On a stream tributary to the upper Sprague, the teeming run of small suckers

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 755

"Wálok mat tû'nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiulăktsuápkuk we-
"For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the
wală'ksh tchish. At géntak t'lksat pán a. Wû'sa ni lúskuapkug. Kílank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Loud

3 ăt tsuínuapk; túnepni ăt nûtísh tsut'nuapk. At tchish híbashnaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye five ye have to sing. Ye too (women and) fellows begin
laktampka lítstakiank; untsă'g nă'tnag pá-uapk tû'm mbû'shant. "Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. "Dis-ase
mat nă'bakuapk" kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; "kû't-
will come on" the sha-man thus says, some tamánuash-medicine (to him) "it is so" says; "of small-
6 kaks mat síssalaluapk" yayayá-as mat ná-ast shápa. Suássuaktch mák-
pox it says will suffer (the people)" the tamánuash just so says. Are weeping peo-
laks nánuk wussóga kû'tzaks. Ná-ast kíuks válok sápa: "Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the sha-man before sweating speaks: "How many food-buckets
shä'tu ăt? tánkĕni at t'lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pă'n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already buckets? Twice ten and five;
9 kánk a ni sä'tû."
so many I count."

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the É-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

751 These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent thereby any infection by disease. The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inauguration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. This kind of sweating is called "wála", while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is "spúkli". The kíuks is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words given are those of another than of the narrator.

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70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gi'ulank, or: túnepni giulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

794

70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from kshulĕya; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

562 888

70, 2. wewală'ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

Spéluishtka at héwi, iwí-idsha wókash. Nāt a génanuapk! nánuk
In the index-month they haul, take home the lily-seed. We will go there! all
nat éna! nátoks waítuapk, wewálha wátch, hû'masht nat gí waíta wéwal-
of us carry it! but we will wait one day, are sore (our) horses, therefore we wait one day because
hasht wátch kä'mat. Nad gitá piénuapk pólōkuantch, ktälowalshuápka
are sore horses on back. We there will scrape up moth-chrysalids, gather pine-nuts
nād. Tchatchápēlu, hóllaksh, tûtánksham, hahashkemólsham, lolóloisam,
we. Sweet resin, winged pine-nuts, blackberry, black cherry, wild gooseberry,
tsinéχam, klá-ads, wáshlalam íwam nä'd stá-ila. Kó-idse, shtéaltk ktä'lo.
sort of wókash, prunes, squirrels' huckleberries we gather. Of bad taste, full of resin (are) pine-nuts.

Tχópowatka í-umämi wátch lalá-a; gépgapēle máklaks kēlä'wiank,
In the thumb-month at berry-time mares foal; return the Indians having done (gathering),
at wéwanuish o-olalóna, at sa í'-umaltka. Bû'nuapka tchä'kēle í'wam,
the females dry berries by the fire, they return from berry-gathering. They will drink red juice of huckleberries,
tchilálat hûn í'wam. Ánshat ánika shash í'wam; wí'dsika nánka í'wam.
boil the berries. You may go and ask them for huckleberries; retentive sieve (are) of berries.
Túpeluish aní'k tēlû'ks, tchákēla n's skaí tak; tsákēlatka n's skaítki stá.
To next helge I send tule-basket, willow-basket to me to give in; in the basket to me to give it filled.
Pahápk tchish íwam lúitki n's léwitchta á. Ká-i sheshätuí'shtka.
Dried too huckleberries to give to me they did not want. Not I intend to sell them.

Spéluishtka spû'klishtat kshíwalχa, papiä'na luldamalákstat. At hû'k
In the index-month in the sweat-house they dance, inaugurate by feast the winter-house. Now such a man
kshū'n híwidshuapk, at hû't hí'wi; túnepni nä'd shópelakuapk. "Tû'sh
hay will haul home, and that man hauls (it) in; in five (stacks) we will stack (it) up. "Where
nû shópelakuapk"? "lápash t'lχat, atí'sh shuí'nshnank t'lχat; t' tchkash i
I shall stack it"? "in two stacks heap it ye, in a long stretching (stack) stacking heap it ye! you also you
nû'sh shatuáyuapk mbúsant. Únípni waítash i n's shatuáyuapka."
me must help to-morrow. Four days you me must help."

Tátχēlam hehátχe tápak.
In the midfinger-month fall the leaves.

Gáptchēlam shináktishtka kä'na.
In the ring-finger month it is snowing.

Gáptsatka mû kä'na.
In the month of heavily it snows the small finger

Tχópowatka wétko é-ush; kéna.
In the thumb-month is frozen the lake; it is snowing.

Spéluishtka ktō'tsa mû; wála kshiúlgishtat.
In the index-month it rains much; they dance in the dance-house.

Tátχēlam tsuám lúela Nílaksi Tsuyakē'ksni.
In the middle-finger-month large kill at Nilaks the Linkville Indians.

Gáptsēlam shináktishtka udsáksalsha Kókētat, kä'shla sa.
In the ring-finger month they take large suckers in Lost River, (and) get ipos.

NOTES.

*539 221 This text intends to give a sketch of the various occupations of the northern tribe or É-ukshikni in every month of the year, and is partially worded in a form which may be called dramatic. These statements are not always arranged in logical order, but a profusion of ethnologic details gives intrinsic value to them.

[805] The months of the Máḵlaks year do not coincide with the months of our calendar, for they extend from one new moon to the next one, and therefore should be more properly called *moons* or *lunations*. Twelve and a half of them make up the year, and they are counted on the fingers of both hands. The first moon of their year begins on the first new moon after their return from the wókash-harvest at Klamath Marsh, which is the time when all the provisions and needful articles have been gathered in for the winter. Work is then stopped and the communal dances begin, the doctor-dances as well as those conducted by the chiefs, and everybody participates in them except those who are out hunting in the mountains during the latter part of the year. This mode of counting the moons on the digits was once popular, but on account of its imperfections it is now forgotten by the majority of the tribe. Instead of it they reckon time by the seasons in which natural products are harvested, as: udsakalí'mi, "in the big sucker time"; i-umá'mi, "in the berry season", or they use our calendar months.

[796] [224]

The first moon mentioned in our text, gáptche, answers generally to our May. The two next moons are counted on the thumb and forefinger of the hand not used immediately before; with this last moon their year has come to an end. The next five moons are counted again on the digits of the first hand, and so forth. The half moon making up their full year is not accounted for in this text.

[823] [226] 74, 2. Ktaí-Túpakshi is a locality of renown in the folklore of the Klamath tribe. It lies near the confluence of Sprague and Williamson Rivers, on the property of an Indian named Tchéloɣins. The otílks is the fish-dam (from utíla), where the Indians wade in the water with their dip-nets and catch the fish while it ascends the river in spring-time in enormous quantities. This fish-dam does not reach the water's surface.

[193] 74, 2. The direct object of lúela is kápto, its subject máḵlaks hó'ank.

74, 3. kámalsh pahá means: they dry the fish which they have just caught by exposing it to the sun on limbs of trees, and then make kámalsh by pounding it. Kámalsh is a derivative from gáma, to pound.

[192] 74, 3. kó-iɣaga is identical with gúikaka; derived from kúi, "away, far off"; guiɣátchka is: to start out annually to the prairies where roots etc. are harvested.

[262] [222] [251] [796] [222] [192] [415] 74, 5. saká a pō'ks: they eat *sometimes* the camass raw, but only at the time when digging it. Bulbs, roots, pods, chrysalids and berries are gathered by women only.

74, 6. pahá at p.; this is equivalent to pahátko pō'ks iwídshat. They bake the camass and put it in their cachés at the place where they intend to stay next winter.

74, 8. shnikanua. During the time when a pause is made in the gathering-process, the conjurer carefully watches the ripening of the pods not yet harvested and arranges public dances. When the sun has done its work, he solemnly announces it to the women, and they go to work again in their canoes.

74, 9. shiulína. From the preceding we should expect shiulínat, lulínat.

74, 10. willishik is the generic term for larger kinds of provision-sacks; it means here a sack of fifty pounds seed or grain, while the wáɣoks holds hundred pounds. In pálasham-wáɣoksh, however, the latter word is taken in its *generic* sense of sack, bag.